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Twenty years ago Routledge (194, p. 149) assisted in the interment of Angata, Pakomio's mother, who was put into a coffin and lowered into a grave in the Catholic cemetery. Curiously enough her prie-dieu was buried with her. Three English cheers added the only odd touch to the whole ceremony which was performed according to strictest Catholic custom. On the same day, a great feast of pigs was held, probably as a funeral banquet.

From the English Company I obtained an old photograph showing a group of girls, dressed in white, singing for the dead. My informant, Victoria Rapahango, told me later that the picture was taken at a feast held six months after the death of one of her children. The long period between the death and the feast suggests a survival of some old custom.

Offerings of food were made for the dead, but we do not know whether this was a general custom for all dead or only for those who asked for food through the medium of dreams or in the form of ghosts. Our only source of information is the following passage in a letter of Father Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 120):

> As to the souls of the bad men, they stay near the corpses enduring hunger and thirst in proportion to their wickedness. From there they sometimes go to beg food from their relatives and friends who must give it if they wish to be rid of the importunity of the dead. I had many opportunities to fight against this superstition, especially among women who had been converted. Very often, as a consequence of a nightmare, they were induced to put food on the grave of a relative they believed they had seen in a dream.

The mourning of relatives lasts from one to two years (87, p. 30) or even three years, according to Routledge (194, p. 171). For only sons the mourning might have continued for three or four years. Relatives—we do not know exactly who—had to keep food tapus and were not allowed to eat sweet potatoes (87, p. 30). When the mourning was over a great feast was celebrated and the "pappa was finished" (194, p. 171).

Comparison with other Polynesian Funeral Rites

The wooden platforms on which the corpses were exposed resemble the Mangarevan biers described and figured by Beechey (15, vol. 1, p. 170). They are also similar to the Marquesan biers resting on four posts (142, p. 57). The stone platforms behind some Easter Island ahus have their equivalents in the Marquesas. On Hivaoa the platform for the dead was made of stream boulders, well fitted together and encasing rough stones, rubble, and earth (104, p. 117).

SUICIDE

Suicide is reported to have been very frequent before Christianity was introduced. For the "slightest provocation" natives jumped from a cliff (190, p. 464). Very likely the psychological background for these suicides was the same as in other parts of Polynesia, especially Mangareva, where it seems to

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have been most frequent among the chiefly women. Unfortunate love, spite, jealousy, and hurt vanity were probably the main causes of suicide. It is probable that suicide has not occurred recently as I do not remember having a single case mentioned to me by natives.

Concepts of Life after Death

There are two contradictory statements about the Easter Island beliefs concerning the after life. These may contain some truth but are probably superficial and inaccurate statements. The more ancient and the more reliable information is that of Roussel, who says (190, p. 495):

> After death the soul of a person went to a foreign country where the degree of his happiness depended upon the extent to which he had respected tapus during his life. If the soul was happy (well dressed) it remained forever in the new country. If it was unhappy (poorly dressed), it returned to harass its relatives.

Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 120) expresses the same general idea, but adds that the souls of bad people stay near the corpses and suffer hunger and thirst in proportion to their wickedness. It has already been shown that the latter belief justified the food offerings put on the graves (p. 118).

This view of the future life is probably too ingenuous to be the true conception of the learned natives. Another version of the same problem, collected by Geiseler (87, p. 31) many years later, associates the destiny of souls with the god Makemake who kills and eats the souls of the wicked dead, while the souls of the good are allowed to rest on the island under his protection. The unburied dead can see Makemake when he comes for them and thus may escape him. Geiseler (87, p. 30) mistook the hen houses scattered about the island for sepulchers and made the erroneous statement that the dead of high rank were put into a stone house that had two holes through which their souls might escape when pursued by Makemake. Beliefs concerning ghosts and the uncanny appearance of souls of the dead have been dealt with elsewhere (pp. 318-320).

There is a belief, expressed in legends, that the souls of the departed were helpful to their relatives and sent them material favors. One father promised his son before his death that he would send him a tree, another foretold the coming of a turtle (p. 372). These gifts were exclusively destined to the persons designated by the dead man; if other people attempted to appropriate them the gifts were withdrawn. The same belief existed in the Tuamotus.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Very little information on social organization can be found in the missionaries' accounts of Easter Island. This is not due to lack of interest but rather to the series of catastrophes which befell Easter Island immediately preceding the advent of the missionaries and which removed from the tribes their

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OREOOREO

776 Geiseler (87, p. 16) was told that the name of the human figure with conventionalized big eyes, painted on a slab at Orongo, was the god Oreoореo. This is the only mention of such a god in Easter Island traditions.

Lesser Gods

Most of the lesser gods are mere names to us. We do not know even the customary residences of some of them, although all the *akuaku* of high rank were supposed to haunt a particular spot on the island and maintain connections with the people living near by. They were supernatural beings who belonged to a certain district or family. A few of them were real gods, others were demons or nature spirits, and others were spirits of deified dead. [775] All lesser gods are now grouped under the general term *akuaku*, which is applied also to the spirits of the dead when they appear as ghosts. Minor gods are still designated by a name and given residence and some of them by a personality defined in myths or tales. But any separation of minor gods from spirits and ghosts based on defined personality is artificial and may be imposing a clarity of distinction which never existed. Likewise it is difficult to distinguish between minor gods who were worshipped and legendary characters who were endowed with superhuman power but who never functioned as actual gods. *Akuaku* figures, mentioned in tales, who have no apparent connection with religion and who probably have no independent existence outside of myth, are given elsewhere (p. 318).

Akuaku were both male and female. They were often represented as human beings, who might have been mistaken for ordinary creatures had the story teller not classified them as *akuaku* or *tatane*. They married ordinary men or women, had children by them and died. They could even be killed if their adversary was strong enough or sly enough. At times their supernatural power manifested itself in the ability to fly through the air and change rapidly from one place to another.

774 776 Some *akuaku* were embodied in animals, in natural or artificial things, or in phenomena. Generally the animals were considered as supernatural beasts rather than as spirits transformed into or embodied in animals. Spirits embodied in things or phenomena bear the names of their material representation and probably were believed to have no existence independent of their apparent form. Thus, Te Emu is a "Landslide"; Mata-vara-vara "the Rain-with-heavy-drops"; Paepae-atari-vera "a House."

776 773 Men are indebted to the minor gods or demons for many important discoveries and improvements in their culture. The art of tattooing was introduced by the sons of two *akuaku*—Vie Moko (The Lizard Woman) and Vie

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776 Following is the list of *akuaku* whose memory has been preserved and the available names of their residences:

Name of akuaku	Residence
Hitirau	Punapau
Nuku-te-mango (Nuku-the-shark)	Punapau
Rarai-a-hova	?
Vairapa	?
Heke-ma-kau (The-swimming-octopus)	Vaihu
Toki-te-ate (The-stone-adz-of-ate)	Hanga-paukura
Pepehu	Akahanga
Turu-te-akaviri	Tonga-riki
Puna	Tonga-riki
Rai-ko-puku	Rano-kao
Mataveri-o-tai	Mataveri
Vie Keu-tea	Mataveri
Mangamanga-oraki	Mataveri
Ura-metometo	Mataveri
Kahu-ma-hau (Cloth-of-hau)	Tahai
Mokomoko-puapua (The-beating-lizard)	Tahai
Moko-piki (The-climbing-lizard)	Tahai
Turu-te-akaviri	Tonga-riki
Mohevaheva	Apina
Verenga or Rerenga-uka	Hanga-roa
Mata-kurakura (The-red-eye)	Ovahe
Manu-mea (The-red-bird)	Angoteo
Mata-mata-pea (The-tattooed-eye)	Region of the Tupa-hotu
Hiva	Region of the Tupa-hotu
Rapahango	Region of the Tupa-hotu
Tare	Region of the Tupa-hotu
Hiku-nene-motoi-pua	Rano-aroi
Toitoi	Motu-nui

Toitoi is mentioned in a chant in connection with Makemake:

Ka amo taau kahi	He loaded his tuna fish
Ka iri e ravarangi,	He went up crying,
"Aaku e mo te atua	"I [bring it] for the god
Mo Toitoi ma Motu-nui	For Toitoi of Motu-nui
Ka Makemake."	For Makemake."
Ka iri, e Mati e,	Go up, O Mati,
Ki te vai uutu	To draw water
Papa hirohiro.	From fissured rock.

Spirits and Ghosts

776 Lower in rank than the individualized spirits were multitudes of nameless
775 ones—possibly spirits of the dead, small nature demons, or genii. The natives were vague about their origin and the same uncertainty probably existed even when the ancient conceptions of the spirit world were still held. Roussel (190, p. 495) writes that the soul or spirit was conceived as "something elusive, a sort of ghost without a head or provided only with ribs."

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These spirits were sometimes amiable and well disposed toward certain men. Natives told both Routledge (194, p. 237) and me of a man whose spirit dug his potato field for him every night. Magicians, especially sorcerers, were served by spirits who were their familiars. The servant-spirits would enter a man whom their master wished to kill or would leave their victim if ordered to do so. They would unveil the future, and foretell the issue of wars or the results of the annual egg races at Orongo.

Probably most of the spirits were mischievous and fond of playing tricks on men. Routledge believes that they were kind or harmful depending upon whether or not they were well fed. However, offerings of food were probably made only to well-known gods or to spirits having distinct personalities. Probably the tempers of the minor demons were unaffected by the conduct of men toward them.

The name *akuaku*, now used indiscriminately for lesser gods and spirits, must have meant originally only ghosts or spirits of the dead, although it is not found elsewhere in Polynesia with this meaning. Desmedt (59, p. 135) considers the Easter Island term *akuaku* cognate with the Mangarevan *akuaku*, which means "thin, speaking only of men and women." This parallel is supported by the Easter Island idea in which ghosts resemble emaciated men.

Akuaku entered the *niuhi* which were ferocious, half-legendary sharks or other dangerous sea animals. In this form they killed people. My informant probably rationalized this old belief by telling me that only bad men were prey of shark spirits. The *akuaku* also caused diseases and were expelled by priests to save their patients.

Spirits of the dead had all the features of the living, but they were emaciated, had protruding bones, and their bowels could be seen in their sunken abdomens. In a word, they were prototypes of the famous wooden images of Easter Island. Such was the appearance of the two *akuaku* whose images and culture hero Tuu-ko-ihu fixed forever in wood (p. 260). Such is still the aspect of the dead when they manifest themselves in dreams. A girl whom we knew well told us that in a nightmare she had seen her grandfather nodding to her. When he turned his face toward her, she noticed that he was half-rotted and that his bowels, in an advanced state of putrefaction, were visible.

Ghosts were especially terrifying and Roussel (190, p. 495) writes: "They seemed to fear very much the haunting souls. Very often they came for me to drive away these malignant spirits of their fathers or mothers who frightened them and tore at their bowels." Even now the *akuaku* interfere in the daily life of Easter Islanders. A girl who was attending our camp and who had been to the well to draw water came back shivering and white, telling us that an *akuaku* had taken the pail she had left on the edge of the

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well. Actually one of us had carried it home. Tepano told me with the greatest seriousness that an *akuaku* had stolen his waistcoat with his watch and that he never found them again, although he was sure that nobody was near the place where he had left his clothes and where, he added, his cousin had died. Every man on the island will tell you that he has at some time met an *akuaku*. Of course South American superstitions have influenced the natives and they see ghosts under the guise of the Christian devil, a black fellow with fiery eyes.

The cats which roamed around our tents at night were considered spirits, and they were greatly feared. When their cries were heard too near or were too dismal, the terrified natives resorted to prayers and spent the night reading sacred books.

CREATION CHANT

A creation chant collected by Thomson in 1886 is supposed to give a list of gods and goddesses who mated and produced most of the natural objects known to natives. This chant was obtained from old Ure-vai-ko, who recited it as the text of a tablet. Unfortunately the spelling of many native words is inaccurate and inconsistent. A translation made by Salmon is equally free, as he assumed that the procreators were all gods whose names were meaningless, and thus misunderstood the true nature of the chant. The text given here is based on Thomson's and corrected by natives, but many verses are not intelligible.

Atua-matariri ki ai ki roto ki a te Poro, ka pu te poporo.

Himahima-marao ki ai ki roto te Kihi-tupu-henua, ka pu te kihihi.

A Oevai ki ai ki roto Kava-kohe-kohe, ka pu te kohe.

Matua-anua ki ai ki roto ki a Pipiri-hai-tau, ka pu te miro.

A Ngingi-e-ai ki ai ki roto ki a Humu-toti, ka pu te mahute.

He Ti ki ai ki roto ki a he Ta, ka pu te ti.

A Tura ki ai ki roto ki a Tei, ka pu te mauku-uta.

A Hau [or Heu] ki ai ki roto Vava, ka pu te turéme.

A he Kai ki ai ki roto He Peue, ka pu te mataa.

Viri-koue ki ai ki roto Aringa-rehe-uru-arero, ka pu te rona.

God-of-the-angry-look by copulating with Roundness (?) produced the *poporo* (*Solanum nigrum*).

Himahima-marao by copulating with Lichen-growing-on-the-soil produced the lichen.

Oevai (?) by copulating with Fern produced the fern.

The Parent-mother by copulating with Pipiri-hai-tau produced wood.

Dryness by copulating with Humu-toti (Tattooing-of-the-leg) produced the paper mulberry.

Ti by copulating with Ta [Tattooing] produced the ti.

Elevation (?) by copulating with Highness produced the inland-grass.

Hau tree by copulating with Vava (?) produced the *tureme* (*Dichelachne sciurea*).

Sharpness by copulating with Adz produced obsidian.

Twining by copulating with Beautiful-face-with-penetrating-tongue produced the morning-glory plant.

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tablets are guarded by "devils" that will, in extreme cases, kill a man who stumbles upon such a cave and steals one of the tablets.

I had no time nor opportunity to delve into any beliefs that might exist regarding what happens to a person after death, but I suspect that here the church has made deep inroads, for the dead are now given the last rites of the church and then buried in a Catholic cemetery.

Immediately upon the death of an individual a certain amount of grief will be shown by the immediate kin, but this appears to be more the result of natural shock than of any culturally determined mourning pattern. Between the time of death and the holding of last rites, the body is kept on view in the victim's house, after which it is carried in its coffin to the church where the last rites are administered by the island's priest. As the body is carried from the church to the cemetery the cortege breaks into song. Some of these are of the slow, religious type, but many have an almost gay lilt. During and after the church services there is no overt expression of mourning on the part of the nearest kin, but as the casket is lowered into the ground a near-hysteria of grief breaks out among the closest relatives of the deceased and is explained by my informants on the basis that this is the final separation from a beloved one.

Since, as appears to be the case, the strongest impact of death comes with the physical parting of the dead from the living, one cannot help but wonder if this final show of extreme mourning is a direct result of the more abrupt practices of Christian religion rather than an Easter Island trait of long standing. It was not, after all, many years ago that burial exposure was practiced: by this method, at least the fleshy parts of the body disappear slowly over a length of time — it is only after the bones are left that final burial takes place in a tomb, usually a surface stone structure or a vault within the platform of an *ahu*. The change from a long drawn out physical relationship with the body to a sudden disappearance of a body in a pit, and the change from customary surface burial to sub-surface interment must have required considerable psychological adjustment. Today's overt manifestation of extreme grief as the body is lowered into the ground may, therefore, indicate that this adjustment to a new burial practice is not complete. On the other hand it may, perhaps, reflect a mourning pattern formerly used when the fleshless bones were given their final resting place.

During the evening of the day of burial the family of the deceased gives a large *umu* feast, often including music and dancing, for all visitors. At this time there are certain taboos with regard to the eating of the *umu* food by the immediate family. Thus, if a father dies neither his brothers and sisters, his children, nor his wife may partake of the food thus prepared. If a child has died neither

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643 sided over the experts in *rongorongo*, the repository of ancient tra-
174 ditions, genealogies, etc. They used tablets (Kohau *rongorongo*) en-
[212] graved with signs as an aid to memory. The signs of *rongorongo* were the object of organized teaching.

174 The Pascuans practiced a form of double inhumation. The body
764 was exposed on the *ahu* until the flesh dried up or turned to dust.
769 The bones were then placed in the burial chambers. Sometimes the skull was preserved separately. There was a general fear of the spirits
[915] of the dead. Commemorative feasts were held in front of the tombs, where chickens were exchanged for a ritual purpose. The statues at the foot of Rano Raraku represent the dead. Several of them have tatoo marks which were still used during the historical period. Later, the images of the dead also were placed on the *ahus*.

174 The Pascuans had a large number of gods, the chief of whom was
776 Makó Makó. The same name appeared in other Polynesian mythologies. It would seem to be connected with the source of that which supplied the material needs of the Pascuans—cultivation and fishing.
[191] It was thus connected with the Marquesan Tiki, whose mask it resembled in almost every detail. Makó Makó is the creator of birds. One of the less obscure features of his cult is the indication, by means of birds, of a man [10] who probably represents the god, and who each spring gives place to another. Ritual feasts at which human flesh
[266] was eaten were a part of this cult, as well as also initiation ceremonies at puberty.

195 The end of the old culture was hastened by the arrival of Euro-
197 peans, who revealed a new world to the Pascuans, a world totally different from their own. From that time onward they lost without any effort both peace and the joy of life. Their restless spirit drove them to undertake the most savage warfare, which decimated them, ruined their culture and overthrew its monuments. Works of art were given up, traditions were lost, so that even the memory of their existence has perished. The whalers and slavers completed the task of destruction already well advanced. After being Christianized the Pascuans became ashamed of most of their past history, and essayed, not without success, to remove all traces of it from memory.

[10] Tangata Manu—bird man. He was the first to get possession of the first egg laid by the bird *Manutara* (breast) in the island of Motunui (spring equinox).